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EXDIS.

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: OREP, PREL, NO, US, PTER
 SUBJECT: ROYAL AUDIENCE FOR SENATOR KASTEN, U.S.-MOROCCAN
 RELATIONS IN THE WAKE OF THE OJUDA ACCORD

REF: RABAT 11041

1. (S - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SENATOR KASTEN, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE AND STAFFDEL MEMBERS BOND AND COLLINS, HAD AN HOUR-AND-THREE-QUARTER AUDIENCE WITH KING HASSAN AT THE ROYAL PALACE IN FEZ DECEMBER 13. ROYAL COUNSELOR REDA GUEDIRA ALSO PARTICIPATED. FOLLOWING OPENING PLEASANTRIES AND SOME BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE COUP IN MAURITANIA AND MOROCCAN-ALGERIAN RELATIONS, THE BULK OF THE CONVERSATION TREATED U.S.-MOROCCAN RELATIONS FOLLOWING MOROCCO'S RAPPROCHMENT WITH LIBYA. THE CONVERSATION WAS FRANK AND DIRECT, ALTHOUGH FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT. SENATOR KASTEN EFFECTIVELY EXPRESSED CONCERNS BEING VOICED IN THE CONGRESS ABOUT HOW U.S. INTERESTS MIGHT BE AFFECTED BY THE OJUDA ACCORD, AND THE KING ADDRESSED THESE ISSUES AND DEFENDED HIS POSITION IN VIGOROUS LANGUAGE AND STYLE ALONG LINES WE HAVE BECOME FAMILIAR WITH IN ALL OUR RECENT CONVERSATIONS.

3. THE KING BEGAN THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION BY SAYING THAT SENATOR KASTEN HAD COME AT A GOOD TIME AND THAT HE WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN TO A PROMINENT MEMBER OF CONGRESS EXACTLY HOW AND WHY HE, HASSAN, HAS MADE CERTAIN POLICY DECISIONS. HE DESCRIBED WHAT HE HAD REGARDED AS MOROCCO'S EXTREME ISOLATION LAST SUMMER AND WHAT HE HAD SEEN AS BOTH HIS RESPONSIBILITY AND HIS OPPORTUNITY TO BREAK OUT OF IT. HE SAID THAT AS CHIEF OF STATE IT WAS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS PEOPLE TO DO WHAT HE COULD TO DISARM HIS ENEMIES AND THAT IN CONCLUDING THE AGREEMENT WITH QADHAFI HE HAD NEUTRALIZED AND DISARMED ONE REAL OR POTENTIAL ENEMY WITH RESPECT

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 TO THE WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM.

4. THE KING SAID THAT WHILE HE CONTINUES TO PLACE HIGH VALUE ON HIS RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO MOROCCO AND TO ITS SECURITY POLICY, AND WHILE HE ESPECIALLY VALUES HIS PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN AND OTHER SENIOR AMERICAN LEADERS, HE IS DISMAYED THAT THE AMERICANS' "OBSESSION" WITH QADHAFI IS CAUSING THEM TO "ACCUSE ME OF DOING ALL KINDS OF THINGS THAT I HAVE NEVER DONE." HE THEN LAUNCHED INTO, AND VIGOROUSLY DENIED, THE ALLEGATION THAT MOROCCO HAS SUPPLIED LIBYA 40 MOROCCAN PASSPORTS POST-OUJDA, WHILE DETAILING THE EARLIER THEFT OF 300 MOROCCAN PASSPORTS AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY DONE WITH AMBASSADOR REED (REFTTEL). AS BEFORE, HE WAS FLAT AND VIGOROUS IN HIS DENIALS.

5. SENATOR KASTEN WELCOMED THE KING'S MENTION OF THE PASSPORT EPISODE, SINCE HE SAID HE HAD INTENDED TO RAISE IT HIMSELF. THE SENATOR NOTED THAT THERE IS INTELLIGENCE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE MOROCCANS TRANSFERRED TO THE LIBYANS THE PASSPORTS IN QUESTION AND THAT THAT INTELLIGENCE IS, QUITE FRANKLY, BELIEVED BY MANY IN WASHINGTON. NOTING THAT HE HAS PREVIOUSLY SUPPORTED, ON CAPITOL HILL, STRONGER U.S.-MOROCCAN RELATIONS, THE SENATOR SAID THAT HE WANTED TO CONTINUE TO DO SO. HOWEVER, SPEAKING WITH THE SAME CANDOR AND FRIENDSHIP THAT THE KING HAD MANIFESTED, HE FELT IT NECESSARY TO TELL THE KING FRANKLY THAT HE AND OTHERS ON CAPITOL HILL, WHO MIGHT WANT TO WORK FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BUT WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE TO THEIR ELECTORATES, FELT THEY MUST CONVEY TO HASSAN DIRECTLY THE CONCERNS BEING EXPRESSED AMONG CONGRESSMEN WITH REGARD TO THE OUJDA ACCORD. KASTEN SAID THAT GIVEN CONTINUING DOUBTS ON THE HILL ABOUT THE ACCORD AND HOW IT MIGHT AFFECT U.S. INTERESTS, HE THOUGHT IT LIKELY THAT SERIOUS QUESTIONS WOULD BE RAISED ABOUT FURTHER U.S. ASSISTANCE TO MOROCCO WHEN THE CONGRESS RETURNS. THUS IT WAS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT TO HAVE THE KIND OF FRANK DISCUSSION THAT HE AND THE KING WERE CARRYING FORWARD.

6. KASTEN CONTINUED THAT, APART FROM THE PASSPORT ISSUE, HE AND OTHERS IN WASHINGTON WERE CONCERNED ABOUT AT LEAST TWO OTHER ISSUES. FIRST, THEY WERE VERY PERTURBED ABOUT ALLEGATIONS THAT THE KING HAD RETURNED LIBYAN DISSIDENTS TO LIBYA AND THAT INDEED SOME OF THEM MAY HAVE BEEN EXECUTED. THE SECOND ISSUE WAS THE GROWING NUMBER OF LIBYANS VISITING, AND PERHAPS STAYING IN MOROCCO, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASABLANCA AREA. ON THE LATTER POINT, KASTEN WONDERED IF THE GROWING LIBYAN PRESENCE MIGHT NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT BOTH TO MOROCCO AND TO U.S. INTER-

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7. HASSAN FIRMLY DENIED THAT HE HAD RETURNED DISSIDENTS TO LIBYA. RECALLING BLUNTLY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT AND THE USG HAVE CLOSE INTELLIGENCE LINKS, AND THAT IN THE PAST THEY HAD WORKED TOGETHER ON LIBYAN MATTERS, THE KING CHARGED THAT IF IN FACT ANY LIBYAN HAD GONE BACK TO LIBYA AGAINST U.S. DESIRES, IT WAS THE USG'S FAULT. "IF THERE WAS SOMEONE THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO TAKE OUT

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OF MOROCCO, ALL IT HAD TO DO WAS TO IDENTIFY THE PERSON TO ME AND ASK." HASSAN CONTINUED THAT LAST FALL, INDEED, WHEN TWO INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR FAMILIES WERE SO IDENTIFIED, HE "GAVE PERMISSION AND TOLD MY OFFICIALS TO CLOSE THEIR EYES." AS REGARDS THE PRESENCE OF LIBYANS IN MOROCCO, HASSAN BRUSHED THIS ASIDE AS NON-THREATENING. HE NOTED THAT LIBYANS WERE ALLOWED TO COME TO MOROCCO WITH VISAS PRIOR TO THE OUJDA ACCORD AND SAID THAT THAT IS THE SAME SITUATION THAT OBTAINS TODAY. HE ARGUED AT LENGTH THAT THE GENERAL CLIMATE IN MOROCCO IS NOT CONDUCIVE TO TERRORIST ACTIVITY AND SAID THAT HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD TERRORIST ACTS, AND HIS DEMONSTRATED ABILITY TO CONTROL HIS TURF, IS WELL KNOWN TO THE LIBYANS AND TO OTHER NEIGHBORING STATES. HE ARGUED THAT LIBYANS ARE COMING TO MOROCCO PRIMARILY ON HOLIDAY AND TO PURCHASE LUXURY AND OTHER ITEMS THAT THEY CANNOT OBTAIN IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

8. HASSAN THEN COVERED ADDITIONAL GROUND THAT HE HAS ALSO GONE OVER WITH OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS. HE SAID THERE IS NO DANGER OF U.S.-SUPPLIED TECHNOLOGY OR U.S.-SUPPLIED INTELLIGENCE BEING TRANSFERRED TO LIBYA SINCE HE SIMPLY WILL NOT ALLOW IT TO HAPPEN. RETURNING TO HIS THEME OF U.S. "OBSESSION" WITH QADHAFI, THE KING ASKED WITH SOME ASPERITY WHY IT IS THAT AMERICANS WILL NOT TAKE HIS WORD FOR IT THAT WHILE HE INTENDS TO TRY TO TAME QADHAFI, THE LATTER WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO CHANGE HASSAN AND HIS FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES. HASSAN CHARACTERIZED HIMSELF AS A MAN WHOSE "CREDIBILITY IS MY GREATEST TREASURE" AND ARGUED THAT HE IS NOT LIKELY TO DO ANYTHING TO TARNISH THAT CREDIBILITY. AS ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WITH OTHERS, HE ASKED SENATOR KASTEN TO TAKE A MESSAGE TO "MY FRIEND PRESIDENT REAGAN." THE MESSAGE, WHICH HASSAN ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE IN THE FORM OF A QUESTION, WAS AS FOLLOWS: "AFTER ALL I HAVE DONE FOR THE UNITED STATES -- THE ACCESS AND TRANSIT AGREEMENT, VOA EXPANSION, MILITARY EXERCISE AND SHIP VISITS -- WHAT TREATY, ALLIANCE, ACCORD OR UNION HAS THE UNITED STATES OFFERED ME?" HE ANSWERED HIS OWN QUESTION WITH A SINGLE WORD: "NOTHING."

9. HASSAN ARGUED THAT WHILE POLITICAL LEADERS UNDERSTANDABLY HAVE TO MAKE TACTICAL SHORT-TERM DECISIONS, THEY MUST NONETHELESS RAISE THEIR SIGHTS TO TAKE A LONGER VIEW FOR THE FUTURE. IN THIS REGARD, HE URGED THE U.S. TO THINK NOT SO MUCH ABOUT QADHAFI, WHO IS MORTAL, BUT ABOUT LIBYA AND THE GEOGRAPHIC SPACE IT OCCUPIES. LEADING THE VISITING PARTY TO A GLOBE OF THE WORLD, THE KING DISCUSSED PLANS FOR A BRIDGE ACROSS THE STRAITS OF GIBRALTAR AND ULTIMATELY TWIN PIPELINES COMING FROM LIBYA AND NIGERIA WITH OIL AND GAS FOR WESTERN EUROPE, THUS FREEING EUROPE OF DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET ENERGY RESOURCES. "THINK OF THE FUTURE, AND THINK BROADLY," HE URGED.

10. HASSAN REPEATED HIS FAMILIAR THEME THAT QADHAFI IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL TERRORISM IN THE WORLD. HE CHARGED THAT SYRIA WAS BEHIND BOMBINGS OF U.S. INSTALLATIONS IN BEIRUT AND SAID HE BELIEVED SYRIA TO BE BEHIND THE KUWAITI AIRPLANE HIJACKING AS WELL. HE SAID THAT HE WAS THUS SURPRISED TO LEARN SOME TIME BACK THAT THE U.S. WAS PREPARED TO GIVE \$300 MILLION (SIC) IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA. SENATOR KASTEN EXPLAINED THE BACKGROUND TO OUR EARLIER EXPECTATION OF PROVIDING AID TO SYRIA, THAT THE ACTUAL FIGURE THEN BEING DISCUSSED FIGURES THEN BEING DISCUSSED WERE MUCH LOWER THAN THE ONE CITED BY HASSAN, AND EXPLAINED HOW HE PERSONALLY HAD MOVED TO BLOCK THE EXTENSION OF SUCH AID TO SYRIA.

11. HASSAN ALSO COMPLAINED THAT THE U.S. SEEMS TO BE

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TRYING TO HAVE THINGS BOTH WAYS WITH LIBYA. ON THE ONE HAND AMERICA CONDEMNS QADHAFI AND THOSE WHO WOULD DO BUSINESS WITH HIM. ON THE OTHER, AMERICA HAS BOUGHT HIS OIL, HAS MANY AMERICAN CITIZENS RESIDING AND WORKING IN LIBYA, AND A U.S. COMPANY IS DIRECTING LIBYA'S RECENTLY INAUGURATED MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR SUBTERRANEAN WATER IRRIGATION PROJECT. HASSAN NOTED THAT MUBARAK

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HAD ROUNDLY CRITICIZED THE U.S. ON ALL THESE COUNTS IN A SPEECH TWO WEEKS AGO. HASSAN WONDERED RHETORICALLY IF THE U.S. IS NOT, IN FACT, GUILTY OF TRYING TO MAINTAIN A DOUBLE STANDARD. SENATOR KASTEN SAID HE BASICALLY AGREED WITH HASSAN, SINCE HE DID NOT THINK AMERICANS SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN LIBYA IN ANY WAY. (N.B. ROMBERG STATEMENT URGING AMCITS TO LEAVE LIBYA ARRIVED HERE DAY FOLLOWING DECEMBER 13 AUDIENCE. EMBASSY WILL PROVIDE IT TO THE KING.)

12. TOWARD THE END OF THE AUDIENCE, SENATOR KASTEN SAID THAT HE FOUND THIS KIND OF FRANK DISCUSSION BENEFICIAL BECAUSE THERE ARE SO MANY CONCERNS IN THE U.S. CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE ABOUT MOROCCAN POLICY FOLLOWING THE UNION ACCORD. HE SAID THAT HE WELCOMED THE KING'S REASSURANCES WITH RESPECT TO U.S.-MOROCCAN RELATIONS BUT SAID THAT HE HOPED THE KING WOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DISPEL DOUBTS IN THE AMERICAN MIND BY TAKING U.S. CONCERNS SERIOUSLY AND ADDRESSING THEM DIRECTLY. IN THIS REGARD, THE SENATOR SUGGESTED THAT THE KING MIGHT WANT TO CONSIDER ADDRESSING AMERICANS DIRECTLY THROUGH THE MEDIA. THE KING SAID THAT HE WELCOMED OPPORTUNITIES TO DO SO AND THAT, INDEED, THE PALACE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH CBS, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO SEND A FILMING TEAM TO MOROCCO FOR AN INTERVIEW.

13. IN CLOSING, SENATOR KASTEN SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IN THE IMPORTANCE OF FIRM U.S.-MOROCCAN RELATIONS AND THAT HE WANTS TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE WORK TO REINFORCE THEM. HE ALSO HOPED THAT THE KING AND MOROCCO WOULD DO THEIR BEST IN THAT SAME DIRECTION. THE KING SAID THAT HE WISHED SENATOR KASTEN TO TAKE TO EVERYONE IN WASHINGTON THE MESSAGE THAT MOROCCO HAS MADE A FUNDAMENTAL, IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT TO THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THAT WILL NOT CHANGE.

14. FINAL NOTE: THE KING EXPRESSED ESPECIALLY WARM REGARDS FOR AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK AND ASKED SENATOR KASTEN TO CONVEY THEM TO HER. HASSAN SAID THAT HE THINKS MRS. KIRKPATRICK IS CLEAR-HEADED, HAS A SOPHISTICATED VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL REALITIES, AND HAS A PUNCHY STYLE THAT HAS DONE A VERY GREAT DEAL TO REFURBISH AMERICA'S IMAGE IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY UNDER THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. THE KING SAID THAT HE HOPED THAT AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK WOULD CONTINUE TO SERVE THE ADMINISTRATION IN SOME IMPORTANT CAPACITY. KIRBY

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